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Royal INNOCENCE:

WHEREIN

King CHARLES I.

Is Clear'd from

Being any Ways ACCESSARY

TO THE

Execrable REBELLION

IN

IRELAND:

A

Moſt Malicious and Groundleſs CALUMNY caſt upon HIM by the *Ring-Leaders* of the

Engliſh REBELLION;

And that CHARGE retorted on *Themſelves*, and prov'd by FACTS.

Indeed that Sea of Blood which hath there been cruelly and barbarouſly ſhed, is enough to drown any Man in eternal both Infamy and Miſery, whom God ſhall find the Malicious Author or Inſtigator of its Effuſion.

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

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ROYAL INNOCENCE, &c.

ONE of the greateſt Calamities that befel King *Charles* I. was, that the Ring-Leaders of the *Engliſh* Rebels were Men of no Principles, regardleſs of Shame, and deſtitute of all Honour. Hence they never ſcrupled to make uſe of the baſeſt and moſt execrable Methods to carry on their Deſigns that Malice could ſuggeſt. Among their numerous black Arts to diſtreſs their Prince, the Father of all Falſhood and Miſchief ſupply'd them with one very ſuitable to the Depravity of their Nature, and ſerviceable in promoting their Ends, and this was Slander and Defamation. This they carried to that Height, as not to ſhew the leaſt Regard to Truth, Probability, or even common Senſe. So violently were they hurried by a wild Fury, that they did not care with what unchriſtian Calumnies they

wounded his Honour, with what vile Aſperſions they blaſted his Credit. Blind and mad with Rage they caſt Reproaches on him, not only groundleſs and without all Foundation, but ridiculous to the laſt Degree, and incredible. They were, it muſt be own'd, Maſters of great Steadineſs and Aſſurance, ſo that they ſupply'd the Want of Credibility by frequent Repetitions and ſtrong Affirmations. Of this there can't be a plainer and more palpable Inſtance than their charging him with being acceſſary to the Rebellion in *Ireland*. When this Scandal was firſt broach'd, they gave out that the *Iriſh* Rebels had a Commiſſion under the Great Seal of *England* for what they did: At another Time they inverted this into a Commiſſion under the Great Seal of *Scotland*, ſeal'd at *Edinburgh*, when the King was laſt there. One While he is ſaid to have been privy to it; then again, the countenancing and abetting thereof is imputed to him: However, as the Belief of this foul Scandal ſerv'd their Purpoſes, the heinous Guilt of blackening their Sovereign, did not hinder their promoting their Intereſt by this falſe Accuſation

culation; ſo intent and fix'd upon this End, as to ſhew no Regard to the Lawfulneſs of the Means. This Reproach (propagated by the *Engliſh* Rebels to render the King odious to his People) has been fully anſwer'd, and his Majeſty's Innocence herein clearly vindicated: So that it will be ſufficient to preſent the Reader with an Enumeration of the Reaſons that have been urg'd in his Defence, a bare Recital whereof will ſhew that the Imputation is as void of Truth, as 'tis of common Humanity. As this moſt excellent Prince made himſelf illuſtrious by an Eminence in all Chriſtian Graces, ſo that the beſt of Men muſt look up to him with Admiration and Reverence, the imputing to him an Action ſo execrable and diabolical, ſhews the Height of Weakneſs and Folly, as well as the Extremity of Malice and Wickedneſs. This Argument taken from the moſt exemplary and Saint-like Life of the Martyr, will receive additional Strength, if we conſider the extraordinary Tenderneſs and Compaſſion remarkable in him, which reſtrain'd him from ever doing an hard-hearted Thing. And

whoever will read over the ſecond Chapter of his ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ upon the Earl of *Strafford*'s Death, will find ſuch Expreſſions of Compunction and Sorrow, from a deep and lively Senſe of Guilt, for having had an Hand (as he charges himſelf) in ſhedding one Man's Blood unjuſtly, and that with the utmoſt Unwillingneſs and Reluctance, ſo that the Act can ſcarce be call'd his own, muſt in his Conſcience diſcharge him of the vaſt Load and Guilt of all the Blood ſhed in that Rebellion, which ſome Men, to eaſe their own Souls, charg'd on him; and will believe him, when he affirms, that he ſhall ever be more afraid to take away any Man's Life unjuſtly, than to loſe his own. But to purſue the Argument; this will appear ſtill more convincing, if we conſider the great Integrity of this bleſſed Prince, and at the ſame Time his moſt ſolemn Profeſſions and Appeals to God, which are no ways to be reconcil'd together, but by a Suppoſal of his perfect Innocence. His Zeal for the Church of *England* was too conſpicuous to be deny'd even by

theſe

theſe his falſe Accuſers; her Intereſt was ever near to him, and what he always had at Heart: This he ſtudiouſly promoted, and rather than ſacrifice her Rights, fell a Sacrifice himſelf. Now that ſuch a Champion and Martyr for the Church, ſhould lend his helping Hand to deſtroy her, can never enter into the Heart of one that has the leaſt Spark of Charity, or into the Head of one that has a Grain of Senſe. The Underſtanding of this Prince was incomparably great and excellent, and his Judgment clear and penetrating, as the wiſe and judicious Remarks ſcatter'd through his Works demonſtrate. How ridiculous and ſtupidly ſottiſh is it then, to aſcribe to one of the wiſeſt of Men an Action ſo contrary to, and deſtructive of his own Intereſt, that no one can ſuſpect him any way acceſſary thereto, but muſt at the ſame Time think him mad. Such certainly he muſt be thought to have been, who in the Day of his Diſtreſs, when his Enemies compaſs'd him about like Water on every Side, ſhould deprive himſelf of his chief Defence and Support. The Rebellion in

Ireland

Ireland was the Ruin of all his Affairs, broke all his Measures, and hinder'd his quenching the Flames in this Kingdom, which at the same Time fed the Fire that laid waste that Nation. To imagine then, that a Prince of consummate Wisdom should act thus contrary to the Dictates of common Sense, and pull down Destruction upon himself with both Hands, is absurd and irrational. To these general Considerations may be added, some particular Reasons which will help to set in a fuller and clearer Light, the Innocence of the Blessed Martyr. On the 16th of *March* 1640, Sir *Henry Vane* (by the King's Order) acquaints the Lords Justices, that by the Intelligence he had receiv'd from Abroad, there was Reason to be jealous of some ill Design then carrying on in that Kingdom; to find out and prevent which, he endeavours to excite their Caution, Circumspection, and Vigilance. Now 'tis utterly unconceivable that one thus watchful for their Safety should be contriving their Ruin, and that the Danger should come from the same Hand that gave timely

Warning

Warning thereof. Whether *Borlace* and *Parſons* (the then Lords Juſtices) did on this Notice, exert their Care and Watchfulneſs to diſcover and obviate the Evil ſuſpected; whether, I ſay, they took the Alarum, may be queſtion'd. However, whatever Neglect there might have been on their Part, the King is entirely blameleſs, and no ways anſwerable for the Conduct of Men plac'd at the Head of the *Iriſh* Affairs, not out of Choice, and from his own Judgment, but in Compliance with the Houſe of Commons; for the *Iriſh* Committee, during their Stay in *London*, had ſo great an Intereſt in the powerful and active Members of that Houſe, that they were able to prevail with them to interpoſe in the Affairs of that Kingdom in ſuch a Manner as they deſir'd. And by the earneſt Advice, and importunate Interpoſition of ſome of thoſe principal Members, they prevail'd, that after the Death of the Lord Deputy *Wansford*, no ſuch Perſon might be appointed to ſucceed, as was like by his Power and Vigilance to prevent the Wickedneſs they intended. Theſe are the Words of my Lord *Clarendon*, and

ſerve

ſerve to inform us who are culpable, and ought to bear the Blame for any Neglect of the Lords Juſtices, in caſe they were wanting in any Part of their Duty after the Receipt of this monitory Letter, to awaken their Care, and put them on their Guard. The next Thing I ſhall mention in the King's Defence, is a publick Act of the *Iriſh* Rebels; which evidently ſhews their Want of any Commiſſion, or even Countenance, from his Majeſty. The Preamble of their Remonſtrance deliver'd by the Lord Viſcount *Gormanſton*, Sir *Lucas Dillon*, and Sir *Robert Talbot*, to the King's Commiſſioners, who were authoriz'd to hear their Propoſals at *Trim* in the County of *Meath*, *March* 17. 1642. quotes thoſe Words from his Majeſty's Commiſſion, in which he expreſſes his utter Deteſtation of that odious Rebellion which the Recuſants of *Ireland* had, without Ground or Colour, rais'd againſt him, *&c.* Theſe Words the King would have never us'd, had he not been perfectly innocent; nor would they have borne, had they receiv'd any Authority or Encouragement from

from him, which they, on this Occaſion, thus provok'd, would not have fail'd to have pleaded in their own Juſtification and Defence. And the only imaginable Reaſon that can be aſſign'd for their not urging the King's Authority in anſwer to this home Charge, is, becauſe they were conſcious they could not. The *Iriſh* Rebels had, indeed, in the Beginning of the Rebellion, given out, to countenance and ſtrengthen their Cauſe, that they had a Commiſſion from the King. But the *Engliſh* Rebels had no more Reaſon to believe them, when they affirm'd that they did nothing without good Authority and Commiſſion from the King, than the *Iriſh* Rebels had to believe them when they ſwore on the 22d of *October*, 1642. that no private Paſſion or Reſpect, no evil Intention to his Majeſty's Perſon, nor Deſign to the Prejudice of his juſt Honour or Authority, engag'd them to raiſe Forces, and the next Day gave his Majeſty Battle at *Edge-Hill*. The *Engliſh* Viliſiers of Majeſty, therefore, built on a

very ſlight Foundation, when they had nothing to ſupport their Calumny but the Credit of *Iriſh* Rebels: And how little that was to be depended on, will appear by the Oath of Dr. *Maxwell*, (afterwards Biſhop of *Kilmore*) which informs us, that the *Iriſh* Rebels gave up all Pretence to any Commiſſion, and in Excuſe, and by way of extenuating their defamatory Charge againſt the King, ſaid, that they thought it lawful to pretend what they could in Advancement of their Cauſe, and that Lies ſerv'd as good Purpoſe as Arms, and that they would not diſclaim any Advantage. And the ingenuous Confeſſion of theſe Rebels, is the more remarkable, and deſerves the greater Regard, becauſe, when they fell into the Parliament's Hands (as we are aſſur'd by Sir *Roger Manley*) they were tamper'd with by the *Engliſh* Rebels; who moſt impiouſly endeavour'd, by Promiſes of Life, Liberty, and Eſtate, and no leſs abominable Artifices, to ſooth them to Confeſſions, that might entitle the King to that nefarious Rebellion.

bellion. And the Lord *Caſtlehaven* affirms, That Sir *John Read* was put to the Rack, to oblige him to accuſe the King as privy thereto, and concern'd therein. Thus the *Iriſh* Rebels endeavour'd to heal the Wound they had given to the King's Honour, and to do Juſtice to him whom they had injur'd, ſubmitted to the Reproach and Scorn that attends falſe Accuſers. And 'tis to be wiſh'd that the ſame could be ſaid of our *Engliſh* Rebels, and that they had labour'd to repair the Injuries they had offer'd to their moſt abus'd King. But we don't read in Hiſtory any Inſtances of their Repentance; and whoever would repreſent them in their true Colours, muſt deſcribe 'em as ungrateful, baſe, falſe, inſolent, injurious, inhumane, and harden'd beyond the common Meaſures of deprav'd Nature: Men who never fail'd adding Inſolence to Inſolence, Injury to Injury, and Calumny to Calumny. But to leave them, and to proceed to the Teſtimony of the Lord *Maguire* and Sir *Phelim Oneal*, two of the principal

Contrivers of the *Iriſh* Rebellion, who both with their laſt Breath acquitted his Majeſty of that vile Reproach which the *Engliſh* Rebels took ſo much Pains to aſperſe and blacken him with. The firſt of theſe was as deeply engag'd in that Rebellion, as any Man; none knew more of the Perſons concern'd, and of the Meaſures to be taken than he. 'Tis impoſſible then, to believe that one thus privy to all their Tranſactions, had there been any Commiſſion from the King, would have been ignorant of it. He that was acquainted with every thing elſe, would certainly have known the principal Thing, what was moſt material, and of the higheſt Concernment: And yet when he was ſtrictly examin'd concerning the King, whether or no he had given any Commiſſion to the Rebels in *Ireland*, or any Aſſiſtance to them, he abſolutely deny'd it to the laſt, with more Senſe of Conſcience in that Particular, than they who examin'd him expected. There is one Circumſtance relating to this Lord, that ought not to be paſs'd

over

over without Notice, and that is, the Length of his Impriſonment: He was taken in *October* 1641. and executed the 20th of *February* 1644. Now though we can't be certain as to the Cauſe of their ſo long deferring his Trial and Execution, we may however conclude, it was not from their Lenity and Compaſſion; and whoever conſiders the vile Methods they made uſe of to work on Sir *Phelim Oneal*, will be led into a ſtrong Suſpicion, that ſo long a Space of Time could not paſs without many Trials of his Integrity, without many Endeavours to corrupt him to a falſe Accuſation. But from Probability let us advance to Certainty, by taking a ſhort View of their Practices on Sir *Phelim Oneal*, as we are aſſur'd by the Dean of *Ardagh*, who was preſent both at his Trial and Execution. The firſt Thing remarkable in the Trial of Sir *Phelim* was the Length thereof: It laſted three Days, protracted with a Deſign, and in Hopes that in that Time they ſhould be able to work upon him; but God (the Guardian

and

and Protector of oppreſs'd Innocence) was pleas'd to ſhew his Power in a wonderful Manner, by giving him a Conſtancy to withſtand all Temptations, ſo that the Offer of Life, Liberty, and Eſtate, could not prevail on him to increaſe his Crimes, by accuſing an innocent Perſon who was dead. Inſtead of being guilty of ſo baſe an Action (which he frequently was ſollicited to) he choſe to publiſh his own Shame, and lay open the whole Contrivance that gave Riſe to that horrid Calumny with which the King was aſpers'd and villified. This he did in the following Manner: He told his Judges, That when he took the Lord *Caulfield*'s Caſtle of *Charlemont*, he found there an old Patent, from this he takes the Seal, and orders one *Harriſon* (who in open Court own'd the ſame) to ſtitch the Label to which the Seal hung, with Silk of the ſame Colour, to an Inſtrument forg'd by himſelf. But notwithſtanding this frank and candid Confeſſion ſo ingenuouſly made by himſelf and *Harriſon*, who was ſo immediately concern'd

in

in the Cheat, the Judges (then under the Direction of a Committee of *English* Rebels who sat in a Room adjoining) were still desirous to blacken the King, and could not help shewing how base and corrupt they were, by prompting him to an Act which they must evidently see to be enormously vile and wicked. But all Methods were ineffectual, and during his Trial he shew'd the same Resolution and Constancy in adhering to the Truth, as he had express'd before. After these Repulses and Disappointments, it may be wonder'd that they should make any further Attempt to seduce Sir *Phelim* to a Compliance with their malicious Design; but 'tis plain they entertain'd some Hopes to work on the Frailty of humane Nature, by fresh Offers made to him when he was at the Place of Execution on the Ladder, just ready to be turn'd off. The Words that were spoke to him were not heard; but his Answer plainly declaring the Nature of the Message sent him, was audible enough; for after he return'd his Thanks by the Messengers to the Lieu-

tenant-General for his intended Kindneſs, he made an open and moſt ſolemn Declaration before God and his holy Angels, that he had no Commiſſion from the King. The Reader is referr'd to the Second Volume of Dr. *Nalſon*'s Collections, for a more particular and exact Account hereof, ſet forth in the Teſtimony of Dr. *Ker*, Dean of *Ardagh*, communicated to the Author by the old Duke of *Ormond*. Thus did Providence confute and revenge thoſe foul and black Scandals they would have caſt on their Sovereign, and blaſt their Credit and Reputation by the very Way they took to deſtroy his Name and Honour, and the Infamy and Reproach that they would moſt unjuſtly have brought on him, became their Lot and Portion.

But not to be endleſs in the Proof of a Truth ſo plain, I ſhall content my ſelf with mentioning a few Royal Acts, the Evidences, as well as Effects, of the Martyr's Innocence. When the bloody Rebellion in *Ireland* firſt broke out, the King was in *Scotland*: there he receiv'd the melancholy News of the terrible

Havock

Havock made among his Proteſtant Subjects; mov'd with a moſt Princely Senſe of their Sufferings, he immediately ordered 1500 Men to their Relief: Afterwards he ſent a Supply of Arms and Ammunition thither, at a Time when he could ill ſpare them, when a Storm was gathering in *England*, when a cautious Regard to his own Safety, might have made a Prince leſs ſenſibly affected with the Miſeries of his People, unwilling to have diveſted himſelf of the Strength neceſſary to prevent the impending Danger, which the Mutinous and Reſtive Temper of the Diſaffected at Home ſeem'd to threaten. But his Concern was not for himſelf, but the Calamities of his People; for whoſe Defence he was determin'd to run all Hazards, and had gone over into *Ireland* to their Relief, and ventur'd his Perſon againſt thoſe Rebels, had it not been for the diſſwaſive Importunity of ſuch here, who were then making Preparations for a Rebellion in *England*. And what can be a clearer Proof of the Integrity of his Heart, and his Zeal for the Support of the Proteſtant Intereſt, than his Offer to Pawn,

or even Sell his Parks, Land, and Houſes, for that Service. His parting with his Prerogative (already ſufficiently par'd) by paſſing ſome Bills of an unuſual Nature, and conſenting to the Propoſitions prejudicial to the Crown of *England*, deſiring nothing ſo much as that timely and effectual Aſſiſtance might be ſent for the Defence and Preſervation of the diſtreſſed Proteſtants in that Kingdom. And after the fatal Battle at *Naſeby*, when his Affairs here were deſperate, his Reſolution was inflexible; and he declar'd, that he would never redeem them by any Conceſſions to the *Iriſh* Rebels, that muſt wound his Honour and Conſcience; and that let his Circumſtances be what they would, he was prepar'd to run any Extremity, rather than do the leaſt Act that might hazard the Religion of the Church of *England*, in which, and for which, he was reſolv'd to live and die. To theſe may be added one Obſervation more, in Proof of his earneſt and moſt paſſionate Deſire to put an End to the *Iriſh* Rebellion, and his great Concern for the Sufferings of the Proteſtants; and that is, the Manner

in which he recommends the Caſe and Sufferings of that miſerable People, in his Meſſages to the Parliament, repreſenting in a Way the moſt moving and affecting their bleeding Condition, to excite, if poſſible, their Compaſſion; and ſtill making uſe of that Conſideration as a Motive to incline them to hearken to a Peace here. Surely he, who weighs theſe Particulars, muſt attain a Degree of Obſtinacy and Perverſeneſs not common, before he can believe the King acceſſary to a Rebellion againſt himſelf; and that when there was ſo great Diſtraction in two of his Kingdoms, he ſhould himſelf put the third into a Flame, that ſo he might have none to help him to quench the Fire that was kindling in the other. Having thus wip'd off this villanous Aſperſion moſt unjuſtly caſt on the King, it remains to be conſider'd, in what Degree theſe his falſe Accuſers were themſelves guilty, and how far the Blood ſpilt in *Ireland* may with Juſtice be charg'd on the Ring-Leaders of the *Engliſh* Rebellion. Accordingly we will take a Survey of their Actions, as the beſt Way to form a right Judgment, and

the ſureſt Guide to an unerring Opinion in the Caſe before us. After the *Scots* Army enter'd *England*, it was no Wonder, that if the King was not forward to disband his Army in *Ireland*, till he was ſatisfied about the Return of the *Scots* Army into their own Country; and he no ſooner was confident of the one, but he reſolv'd the other; but wiſely conſider'd at the ſame Time, that the diſbanding ſuch a Body, was not ſo likely to contribute to the Peace of that Kingdom, as the tranſporting them; and therefore his Majeſty agreed with the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, that he ſhould have Leave to Tranſport three or four Thouſand of them for his Maſter's Service; and in Confidence, that the King would make good his Promiſe, the Ambaſſador diſburſed Money for their Tranſport. This was no ſooner known, but the *Iriſh* Committee, then in *London*, (the greater Part whereof being Papiſts, and after the Rebellion broke out, active Rebels, very probably deſign'd other Service for theſe Men,) prevail'd with the Leading Members of the Houſe of Commons (with whom they had a powerful Intereſt)

reſt) to interpoſe, and hinder the Performance of that Agreement. They principally, upon the Conſideration of the Umbrage the Crown of *France* might take at ſuch an Aſſiſtance given to *Spain*, preſs'd the King to revoke the Grant, and to conſent to the disbanding of 'em. That Objection was eaſily anſwer'd by his Majeſty, having agreed likewiſe with the *French* Ambaſſador, that the like Number ſhouſd be tranſported to *France*, whereby the whole Army would have been diſpos'd of Abroad. This diſturb'd the *Iriſh* Committee; and againſt this they preſs'd more than againſt the other; alledging, that there were not Men in the Kingdom to ſpare. Hereupon they have Recourſe again to their truſty Friends, the principal Members of the Houſe of Commons: They (by their private Agents) prevail'd on the *French* Ambaſſador to releaſe the King of his Promiſe, on Condition that the *Spaniards* ſhould have no Men: Then they renew'd and enforc'd their Importunity with the King for the preſent Disbanding, and not ſending any of the Army out of *Ireland*. They preſs'd this

this in ſuch a Manner, that his Majeſty (tho' it was to his Diſreputation) was forc'd to yield to it; and thereby (no Queſtion) much was contributed towards raiſing the Rebellion that follow'd. It can't be deny'd that they of the *Iriſh* Committee, who ſo heartily eſpous'd that Cauſe, were then taking a Preparative Step to the Rebellion, when they ſo ſtrenuouſly labour'd againſt the Tranſportation of the *Iriſh* Army; and that it was their Intention then to engage them in that execrable Work. How far the Governing Men in Parliament, who by this Act laid a Foundation for what follow'd, are anſwerable for that Conſequence, is left to the impartial Judgment of the Reader. The King (as is mention'd before) was in *Scotland* when the *Iriſh* Rebellion began: It was his Reſolution, as the moſt likely Way to put an immediate Stop thereto, to go there himſelf, and head what ſmall Army he could get together, againſt thoſe bloody Rebels. Of this Intention he gave the Parliament Notice: To this Meſſage an Anſwer was drawn up, and ſent his Majeſty, diſſwading him

him from his Purpoſe, in a Manner very inſolent and provoking. The King hereupon, in Compliance with their Deſires, put off his intended Journey. Thus was it their Advice that ſtaid his going thither in Perſon, which probably might have ſtopt the Rage of that Rebellion, and prevented the Effuſion of much Blood, which was afterwards ſhed in that Kingdom. So that next to the Sin of thoſe that began the Rebellion, theirs muſt needs be who hinder'd the ſpeedy ſuppreſſing it. It ought not to be forgot, that not long after the Rebellion broke out, when the Houſes pretended wonderful Difficulty to raiſe Men for that Service, and when a ſeaſonable Supply would have defeated, and utterly broken the Rebels, the King ſent a Meſſage to them, *December* 28. 1641. That his Majeſty being very ſenſible of the great Miſeries and Diſtreſſes of his Subjects in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, which daily increaſed, and the Blood which had been already ſpilt by the Cruelty and Barbarity of thoſe Rebels, crying out ſo loud, and perceiving how ſlow the Succours deſign'd thither went on;

on, his Majeſty himſelf would take Care that by Commiſſions (which he would grant) ten Thouſand *Engliſh* Voluntiers ſhould be ſpeedily rais'd for that Service, if the Houſe of Commons would declare they would pay 'em. This Offer of his Majeſty (alone ſufficient to convince any unprejudic'd Perſon of the Integrity of his Heart) they thought fit to reject. Had this Offer been accepted, the Ruin could not have been ſo great, the Calamity ſo long, nor the Remedy ſo deſperate; but upon their refuſing to comply with this moſt reaſonable and compaſſionate Requeſt of his Majeſty, for immediate and powerful Succours, the poor Proteſtants were left expos'd to the Rage of their mercileſs Enemies, the Rebellion ſpread, and laid Waſte a conſiderable Part of the Kingdom, and diſmal Accounts were continually brought over of the Cruelty and Barbarity of thoſe inhuman Rebels, ſtirr'd up to the moſt exorbitant Violence, not only by Rage, but Deſpair. For the Reader is to be inform'd, and it deſerves his particular Notice, that though the Parliament could not be prevail'd upon to comply

ply with the Offers made by his Majeſty, in Behalf of their ſuffering Brethren in *Ireland*; yet they took Care to provoke and exaſperate the Rebels to the moſt deſperate Reſolutions and Actions, by threatning all Extremities, not only to the known Heads, and chief Incendiaries, but even to the whole Community of that Nation, reſolving to deſtroy Root and Branch, Men, Women and Children, without Regard to thoſe Pleas for Mercy which muſt ariſe in the Breaſts of all, not wholly barbarous, in Behalf of Innocents, chuſing rather to uſe all Extremities which might drive Men to the moſt deſperate Obſtinacy, than to win them over by moderate Remedies. Hereby they increas'd the Fury of the Rebels, by adding Deſpair to their Cruelty, and by their prepoſterous and unreaſonable Severity, puſh'd them on to the moſt wicked Actions to ſecure themſelves from thoſe Rigours wherewith they ſaw themſelves threaten'd: The Reader therefore is to look on thoſe who kindled a Rebellion here, not only as hindering the putting a ſpeedy Stop to, but in Truth, as blowing the Fire that

rag'd in *Ireland*. I am now to conſider the Act for the ſpeedy and effectual reducing of the Rebels in *Ireland*, thoſe Clauſes, I mean, thereof that had a natural and apparent Tendency to make that Rebellion more general, and ſuch as were engag'd in it the more cruel and obſtinate. But it will be neceſſary firſt, to ſay ſomething in Excuſe of the King, for giving his Aſſent to that Bill, between whoſe Act, and that of the two Houſes, there will appear a manifeſt Difference and Diſparity, ſo that it would be moſt unjuſt to charge him with what may in all Reaſon be imputed to them. 'Tis too notorious to be deny'd, that the King met this Parliament with the moſt generous and royal Diſpoſition; with a Reſolution to give all juſt Satisfaction to modeſt and ſober Deſires; with a Largeneſs of Heart, inclining him to ſuch Actions as might contribute to their Eaſe and Contentment; with an Intention to oblige not his Friends only, but his diſcontented factious Enemies; with a Purpoſe to grant whatever his Reaſon and Conſcience told him was fit to be deſir'd with ſuch a Zeal for the Love and Welfare

fare of his People, that he ſcrupled not to leſſen himſelf by parting with his Prerogative for their Benefit, and to lay a firm Foundation of an Union and good Underſtanding between him and his Subjects. Now even this moſt Princely Temper might be the Cauſe of ſome Errors, and incline him to too-ready a Compliance with his Parliament before he had ſufficiently weigh'd the Conſequences of Things. Beſides, they who had the Honour of knowing this Prince, agree in this Part of his Character, that though his Judgment was excellent, yet ſo great was his Modeſty, and his Diſtruſt and Diffidence of his own Abilities, that he was too apt ſometimes to ſubmit his Reaſon to theirs, who wanted his Strength of Reaſon and Clearneſs of Judgment. And ſomething of this Kind happen'd in the Caſe before us: For his Majeſty ſpeaking of this Act, ſays, that it was upon their Advice in *February* 1641. that he agreed that the Rebels Land ſhould be ſhar'd among the Adventurers, and the Rebels to have no Pardons; and that he then expreſly declar'd, that he did it, meerly relying on their Wiſdom;

without further examining (what he in his particular Judgment was perſwaded) whether that Courſe might not retard the reducing of that Kingdom by exaſperating the Rebels, and rendering them deſperate of being receiv'd into Grace, if they ſhould return to their Obedience; and 'tis moſt apparent that thoſe Propoſitions and the Act drawn upon them (wherein alſo a further Clauſe not obſerv'd by him, but paſs'd as conceiving the Act had wholly purſued the Propoſitions) was inſerted, that every Perſon who ſhould make, enter into, or take any Compact, *&c.* to introduce, or bring into the ſaid Realm of *Ireland*, the Authority of the See of *Rome*, *&c.* or maintain, or defend the ſame, ſhould forfeit his Lands and Goods, were great Cauſes, not only of provoking, but increaſing and encouraging the Rebels, who having no Pretence before for that horrid Rebellion, had now ſome Colour to make it a Matter of Religion, and ſo to make their Application to Foreign Princes, and to negotiate with them about the Delivery of that Kingdom into their Hands. It would therefore be hard to make him, like them, anſwer-

anſwerable for the fatal Conſequences of this Act, ſince he herein acted by their Advice, merely rely'd on their Wiſdom, and ſubmitted his Judgment to theirs. Let it next be conſider'd what Pains had been taken by the *Engliſh* Faction, to perſwade the People, that the King favour'd the Rebellion in *Ireland*; and that they had ſo far ſucceeded in their Wickedneſs, as to poſſeſs many with a Belief of that moſt unjuſt and impudent Slander: If then ſuch a Calumny could meet with Credit, when there was not the leaſt Foundation or Colour for it, how would it have ſpread, and gain'd Ground among the People, had he refuſed to give his Aſſent to a Bill with the ſpecious Title of an Act, for the ſpeedy and effectual reducing the Rebels in *Ireland*. Would not this his Refuſal have been made an Argument of his abetting and countenancing that moſt execrable Rebellion? That it would, no one can Queſtion, who remembers their Behaviour upon the Ceſſation that his Majeſty made with thoſe Rebels, though upon the moſt juſt and honourable Grounds, in order to preſerve his Proteſtant

teſtant Subjects there, who muſt otherwiſe have periſh'd either by the Sword or Famine; though I ſay this was effected in the beſt Manner that the Neceſſity and Difficulty of Affairs would then permit, and to hinder the Rebels from utterly devouring the remaining Handfuls of the poor Proteſtants; ye even this moſt compaſſionate Act of his was turn'd to his Reproach. Can any one then wonder that a Prince ſo jealous of his Reputation, as to be more willing to loſe his Crowns than his Credit, who valued his Kingdoms leſs than his Honour, ſhould guard againſt Malice and Detraction by a Compliance with the Perverſeneſs of thoſe who lay in wait to blaſt his Name with the moſt virulent and odious Reproaches, and to expoſe him to that Hatred and Contempt which might moſt diminiſh the Majeſty of a King, and increaſe the ungrateful Inſolences of the People? And as this was in a Matter relating to the carrying on the War in *Ireland*, the Proſecution whereof his Majeſty had truſted them with, there can be no Room for any hard Thoughts of the King, or any

any Foundation or Colour for Cenſure. But to return to the Act: Firſt, 'Tis Enacted, That two Millions and an half of profitable Lands ſhall be allotted and divided among the Adventurers. 'Tis further Enacted, that all Perſons who upon the 23d of *October*, 1641. or at any Time after, ſhall be in Rebellion, or levy War againſt the King, *&c.* ſhall loſe and forfeit unto the King's Majeſty, *&c.* all his Right, Title, Intereſt, *&c.* of, in, or unto any Honours, Caſtles, Manors, Lands, Tenements, *&c.* or any other Hereditaments, of what Name, Nature, or Quality ſoever they be, *&c.* and that all ſuch Right, Title, Intereſt, *&c.* of, in, or to the ſame Honours, Caſtles, *&c.* ſhall be deem'd veſted and adjudg'd to be in the actual and real Poſſeſſion of our Sovereign Lord the King, *&c.* 'Tis further Enacted, That all Pardons which ſhall be granted to any of the ſaid Rebels before Attainder, after the 23d of *October*, 1641. (without the Aſſent of the Lords and Commons) ſhall be adjudg'd void, and of no Effect. And 'tis further Enacted, That every Perſon who, after the Firſt of *March*, 1640. ſhall

ſhall make, enter into, or take any Compact, Bond, Covenant, Oath, Promiſe, or Agreement, to introduce or bring into the ſaid Realm of *Ireland* the Authority of the See of *Rome* in any Caſe whatſoever, or maintain or defend tha ſame, ſhall forfeit to his Majeſty, *&c.* all his Lands, Tenements, *&c.* Goods and Chattels, *&c.* And 'tis further Enacted, That if any Perſon ſince the 23d of *October*, 1641. be, or hereafter ſhall be in Rebellion within the ſaid Kingdom of *Ireland*, and be dead, or ſhall die, *&c.* all the Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, *&c.* Goods or Chattels, which ſuch Perſons had, or ſhall have, *&c.* ſhall by Virtue of this Act be forfeited to his Majeſty. Now it muſt happen in the Rebellion in *Ireland*, as it did in the *Engliſh* Rebellion, that among thoſe that were engag'd in that execrable Deſign, ſome were Criminal in a much leſs Degree than others; ſuch as were ſeduc'd upon a Belief the Nation was deſign'd to be eradicated, and that the War was not againſt the Rebellion only, but againſt their Religion; ſuch as were not their own Maſters, being in a State of Dependance and Subjection;

jection; ſuch as were drove into it thro' Fear, being enforc'd to comply with their Proceedings, to ſwim down the Stream with 'em, to prevent being drowned themſelves. Theſe, and many other Pleas for Mercy to thoſe who enter'd not into that Engagement through Malice, who were not Authors of, nor conſenting to the Cruelties committed, might (one would think) have reſtrained the *Engliſh* from that ſtoical undiſtinguiſhing Act; and when they involv'd all in a common Ruin, without a Tender of Mercy to ſuch as would in all Probability have thereby been wrought upon to return to their Duty, they muſt have been under the Conduct of ſome other Guide than either Compaſſion or Reaſon. Had they been affected with a due Senſe of the Sufferings of their Brethren, they would have been for leſſening the Rage and Number of their Enemies; and ſurely Reaſon would have directed them to other Means for preſerving the Proteſtants from utter Ruin and Deſtruction, than by driving the Rebels to the moſt deſperate Obſtinacy and Reſolutions, when they ſaw no

Hopes of Mercy, when there was nothing before them but the Loſs of Eſtate and Life. Exemplary Juſtice on ſome, and to others Tenders of Mercy on their Submiſſion, had ſurely been more agreeable to the Dictates of Prudence, than treating all as Wolves and Tygers, Creatures not fit to live. This, and much more, might be ſaid againſt the Unfitneſs of the Act to anſwer the Title it bears, *viz.* for the ſpeedy and effectual Reducing of the Rebels in *Ireland*, ſuppoſing that they who contrived the ſame acted *Bona fide*, meant what is expreſs'd, and had no private ſiniſter View; which there is too much Reaſon to think the leading Members of the Houſe of Commons had, if we conſider that they had rejected the King's Offers, no ways liable to the Objections that are againſt this Act, and that they miſapply'd the Aids intended for *Ireland*, to raiſe and ſupport the Rebellion in *England*. I will tranſcribe the King's Words on this Occaſion as a Warrant for this Charge, as a Proof that I have good Authority for this Accuſation, that the Money rais'd for the Support of the Proteſtant

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in *Ireland* was diverted and imploy'd in the Rebellion here. " Whereas, out of " our earneſt Deſire of the Relief of our " poor Subjects in *Ireland*, and to ſhew " the great Senſe we had of their Miſe- " ries, we had given way to ſeveral unu- " ſual Bills for raiſing of Forces, and like- " wiſe to the Bill for the 400,000 Pounds " for the Adventurers ; and others for " raiſing of Moneys, (which Moneys by " thoſe Acts were to be paid to particu- " lar Perſons out of the ordinary Courſe, " and not into our Exchequer, as was " uſual in the like Caſes,) thoſe Supplies " were diverted and imploy'd to feed and " nouriſh a Rebellion in *England*, rather " than to ſuppreſs that in *Ireland*. Thus " 100,000 Pounds of the Adventurers " Money was imploy'd for the Earl of " *Eſſex*'s Army, when he firſt march'd " againſt us ; and that Imployment of it, " though contrary to the expreſs Words " of the Act, which are, *That no Part " of that Money ſhall be imploy'd to any " other Purpoſe than the reducing of " thoſe Rebels*, was publickly juſtified " by a Declaration made in the Name of " the Houſe of Commons the 6th of *Sep-*

" *tember*, not long before the Battle at " *Edge-Hill*; and at the ſame Battle ſe- " veral Regiments of Horſe and Foot " rais'd for *Ireland*, under the Command " of the Lord *Wharton*, Lord of *Leny*, " Sir *Faithful Forteſcue*, and others, " were imploy'd againſt us at *Edge-Hill*; " the Moneys rais'd upon the Bill of " 400,000 Pounds, and others, have " been wholly made uſe of againſt us: " And it was impoſſible, without thus " working themſelves (under the ſpe- " cious Pretence of ſuppreſſing the Re- " bellion of *Ireland*) into the Mana- " gery of that War, and miſapplying the " Aids intended for *Ireland*, to have " brought this Kingdom into the bleed- " ing and deſperate Condition where- " in it now languiſheth." So that it remains no longer a Myſtery why they rejected the King's Offers, which would to all Appearance have put a ſpeedy Stop to that Rebellion, and why they were for taking the Management of that Affair into their own Hands, ſince without a Power of raiſing Forces, and of levying Money to ſupply thoſe Forces, they would never have begun a War againſt

againſt the King; a Deſign which doubtleſs they had reſolv'd on before the paſſing theſe *Iriſh* Acts, ſo fram'd as to promote the ſame, and to be made ſubſervient to their intended Rebellion. Laſtly, it was their unreaſonable Declarations at the Beginning of the Rebellion (before the old *Engliſh*, and other Papiſts had engag'd themſelves with the Rebels of *Ulſter*) of making it a War of Religion, and againſt that Connivance which had been us'd in that Kingdom ever ſince the Reformation, and tending to make it a National Quarrel, and to eradicate the whole Stock of the *Iriſh*, which made the Rebellion ſo general; whereas otherwiſe the old *Engliſh*, as in former Times (tho' Papiſts) would have join'd againſt thoſe Rebels. From all which it appears, that they who laid the Odium of theſe ſad Events on a moſt innocent Prince, were not the leaſt Occaſion thereof themſelves.

FINIS.

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